

121

A B R I E F E DISCOVRSE OF THE SPANISH STATE, VVITH a Dialogue annexed intituled PHILOBASILIS.



AT LONDON,

Imprinted by Richard Field dwelling in the
Blacke-Friers neere Ludgate.

1590.

CE 31 A

1771. 7. 17. 1814

Enthaltend die
anglo-amerikanischen
und
französischen



TO THE MOST HIGH
MIGHTIE AND VERTVOVS
PRINCESSE ELIZABETH BY THE
GRACE OF GOD QVEENE OF EN-
gland, France and Ireland, &c. be a most prosperous,
long and victorious raigne.



F *Cæsar*, most gracious Soueraigne Ladie, encouraged his Pilot being feareful in a tempest at sea, by laying to him, Feare not thou cariest *Cæsar*: howe much more may we becomfoted, & feare no wind of fortune, your sacred person being in our arke, and your royll hand at the sterne of our gouernment: for greater is your Maiestie then *Cæsar*, and of more power to giue life to the fift Monarchie which shall haue no ende; then he to the fourth almost ended.

To subdue mightie nations remaineth onely in the monuments of time: but to conquer men with pietie (the guidon of all the vertues) is to leaue a *Trophæa* of your Maiesties victories, so great as no age can comprehend. The consideration of this moueth the world with a reverent regard of your Maiesties proceedings; which being houed vnder the wing of God, can suffer no alteration of time or fortune.

Who would an instance hereof, he can haue none more honorable then the resolution of all men to withstand the *Spaniards* intended invasion; they being then most enclined to your Maiesties seruice when the danger seemed greatest by the neere approch of the *Spanish Ar-mado*.

Seing then most mightie Princesse, the blason of your vertues is best knowne by expressing their barbarous ty-rannie, contraries being perceiued by their contrarie ef-fects, I thought meete in regard thereof (my dutie to your Maiestie commanding no lesse) to display some *Spanish* colours, whereby the brightnesse of your glorie issued from your qualified gouernment, may the sooner ap-peare to all men.

This collection I most humbly Dedicate vnto your most excellent Maiestie, beseeching him who hath placed you in the royall seate, and miraculously preserued your Maiestie from sundrie sorts of great danger, to giue your Highnesse a most prosperous and long life in assu-red tranquillitie, to the glorie of his name, and comfort of your faithfull and louing subiects.

*Your Maiesties most faithfull,
humble and obedient subiect,*

EDWARD DAVNCE.



TO THE NOBLE AND vertuous Reader.

IHose may muse, vvhho sucke the breastes of
change, that by an odious inuictiue drawing
enuie, I should stirre them vvhho (by the indi-
sposition of time) make the vworld tremble be-
fore them: but let those knowve, vvhho, to their
losse desire nouelties, that, I being a naturall subiect of this
realme, esteeme nothing my hurt, that may discouer the perill
and reproch of a common enemie. Common I tearme him,
vhho, under colour of reformation, seeketh to enlarge his
Empire, vvhith the bloud of his ovne sort. Let them then
(vvhho affect that faction) rather desire to haue such a com-
mon vveale (vvhich by false positions) they think to be dis-
membred, then none at all. Let them be moreouer persuava-
ded, that there is no religion vvhile there is no care of coun-
trie, vvhich I conclude from these principles. First that vve
can not loue God vvhom vve haue not seene, if vve loue not
our neighbours vvhom vve do see. Secondly that he that re-
gardeth not his houshold is vvorste then an Ethenicke. To
procure then the ruine of a region, and to be guides to that
enemie (against vvhose auarice being entred, there is no
prouision to be made) it is to be sea monstres, and such as score
in the sands of Tagus. Fare vvel Noble & vertuous Reader,
vhith this caution, that upon any daunger of thy countrey,
thou place thy mind in heauen, thy heart in Court, and thy bo-
die in thy cuyrasse.

E. D. Gent.

A ij

100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000



A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE OF THE SPANISH STATE.

PHILIP (the father of great Alexander) having increased his small kingdome of Macedonia to the Empire of Greece: and considering how needfull the fauour of all men was for the life of his reputation in that romth; commanded that daily ere he came from his chamber, a boy standing at the dore should say with loud voyce, Philip remember thou art a mortall man: a course beyond anie expectation of that time; he being deriued from Hercules, whom for his excellencie, they feigne was translated amongst the gods.

Some who haue since that time preferred iustice before the other vertues, do name humilitie; (as that which belongeth onely to man) to be the meanest notwithstanding that she linketh the rest, and is mother to clemencie, who chiefly bringeth forth the fauor of the people.

The regard which this prudent king had to make his succession immoueable, and to raise them to the highest top of glorie (as he did by making their foord, by his affabilitie, temperance and clemencie) is of excellent president for all Princes: who to effect the like, are to appeare before God as men clothed with humilitie; and before men as God adorned with clemencie: they being both men & gods respecting their condition of humane frailtie; and high place of their royll dignitie.

2. A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE

The error which groweth by the abuse of these things is dangerous, as that which leadeth either into a manifest tyrannie, or a remissenesse of gouernement. For howe may he that perceiuthe not the passions of men, or feeleth not in him selfe an inclination to mercie; either relieue the people of their miseries as man, or prouide for their infirmities as God?

To seeme therfore such who seeke a reformation and benefit of the people (a report very plausible) and couertly to deuour manie prouinces, is a practise neither of man or God, but of Deuils incarnate. I would there were not any vnto whom this might be obiectet: & that her Maiestie whose most noble Progenitors haue deserued well of *Spaine*, might, if for no other cause then the auncient league betweene the Crowne of *Castill* and the house of *Lancaster*, haue enioyed their good neighbourhood and friendship of times past. But seeing that their cheerefull countenance (being oppressed with the ill humours of their ambition) is turned into a melancholie darke, I haue thought good for the benefit of her Maiesties subiectes, (some of them hauing vaine imaginations of the Spaniards excellent giftes and greatnesse) to drawe the linea-ments of their Empire and good nature, by which it may appeare howe monstruous the proportion of both is, which they would should seeme most exquisit and come-ly to all men.

It is certaine that *Spaine* is of great antiquitie, bearing that name vnder the first Monarchie; but when we shall consider the significations of her and of her first inhabitant, we shall find her age no ornament (as it hath bene in the names of the foure Monarchies, and of some other nations) but a great deformitie considering her incom-modities,

Froissart.

OF THE SPANISH STATE.

3.

modities, and peruerse qualities of that people: all naturall defects being made more imperfect by continuance or alteration of times. Touching therefore the significations of that countrie: *Σπανια* (being a Greeke word) is interpreted neediness, penurie and raritie; and was not long after the diuision of tongues, first inhabited by the third sonne of *Japhet* named *Iobel* or *Tubal*, signifying worldly, or of the world, confusion and ignomie: which significations meet so iumpe regarding the state of that counrie, and customes of that nation, as nothing could be devised after.

*Gieronimo
Ruscelli vel
Ptolomeo.*

*Iosephus
lib. I. antiq.
cap. II.*

Of this contemptible beginning (which in respect of their meanness was long without suspition of tyrannie haue they (lothing the streights of *Hercules* pillers, and his *Plus ultra*) extended their limits to the vtmost Indians; where they haue erected this *Trophæa* of *Alexanders* concept, *Non sufficit orbis*; but how farre from the temperance of good Princes, let anie barbarian iudge, who would haue bene glutted with halfe the miseries of them, with whose euils the *Spaniard* is not yet satisfied.

For better expressing the particularities of their policie let vs (before we come to the significations of *σπανια* and *Tubal*, only for an introductiō to the nature of both) obserue these foure points: First how that that nation rising like the bettle frō the cowshern, hurtleth against al things Secōdly that they being of the nature of shadows, which are short the Sunne ascending the Meridian; and long, being neere the Horizon, make a deceiptfull proportion of their greatnessse. Thirdly, that whilst the great kings of Europe liued, they were obscure, and haue onely since their time bene seene, like glowe wormes shining in the darke. Fourthly, that this region of *Spaine* (though verie

1

2

3

4

B.

4 A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE

Lib. 3. Hist. ancient) was after the report of *Polybius* vnown to the old *Romanes*, (the South part excepted) aswell in respect of the vnsuitableness of the soyle, as sauage and rude life of the inhabitants : all which concerne the significations of that countrie and inhabitant : but first of *Spania*.

Diodorus Sicu. rerum anti. lib. 6. cap. 9.

Diodorus Sic. rerum anti. lib. 5. cap. 2. & li. 6. cap. 9.

3

It is conuenient, that we perceiue the effectes of this name by nearer circumstances of ages then the former generall poincts : in respect whereof, we must first looke backward as farre as three thousand yeares : at which time the *Phenicians* (who were then of the greatest nauigation) did buy of them their mettall for things of no account and small price : an argument that either the *Spaniards* then were of great simplicitie (a qualitie neuer growing to a habit in them) or that they had great want of those things which are ordinarie for the life of man, which is an inseparable accident of the greatest part of their countrey. Secondly who considereth their naturall disposition to robberie in the maiden yeares of *Spaine*, would thinke they had onely studied that lawe *Licurgus* made in the benefit of secret theft; neither *Hercules* though he maistered their countrimen *Gerion* and the sonnes of *Chrysaurus*; or the *Romanes* who often restrained them, being able to supprese their theeucrie. But they depend vpon this ground, that those things in which manie offend, are alwayes forgiuen, and that there is no law prescribed to necessitie.

Thirdly behold their small multitude of people regarding the bignesse of their countrey, being one of the greatest kingdomes of Europe: which proceedeth of the significations of *Spaine*; caritie, penurie and want. For as it is natural that those females that giue sucke, may bring so manie of their kind as they haue tets : so is it monstuous

to

OF THE SPANISH STATE.

to produce moe than they haue meanes to releue: this being alwaies a rule, that there is no region which is fruitfull (vnlesse mortalitie be a depriuing cause) but that according to the good prouidence of nature it is also populous.

Fourthly, suruay the scituatiōn of *Spaine*, which generally yeldeth moe rockes and barren hils, than champaign and plaine fieldes, from which (after the midſt of Iune) they reape no profitē till the next ſpring: their trees and vines excepted, neither haue they any great vſe of their riuer waters, which are ſo troubled and extreme colde in the firſt part of ſummer by ſnowes, that descend from the hils by the heate of the ſunne, that they do not onely mor-
Froſſard.
found and kill horses, but alſo men if they haue not the dayly vſe of *Garlike*, which is eſteemed very profitable for them that drinke corrupted water.

Fiftly, obſerue ſome cauſes of their rebellion in the time of the emperor Charles the 5. which were (amongſt other miſlikes) for that their coine was tranſported into *Italy*, *Flanders* and *Almaine*: and their graine into *Por-
tingall* their next neighbour: and note alſo how they are yeerely releueu'd from the *Eſterlings* and *Normandie* with corne, and from *Brittani* with Poultrie.

Sixtly, marke their couetouuſneſſe: which vice though it be not alwaies in the poore, yet haue they more cauſe to offend therein, reſpecting their needie ſtate, than o-
thers.

This fault of auarice is no leſſe peculiare to the *Spani-
ards* than theſt: both iſſuing from one fountaine, and ha-
uing their diſſerence but in circumſtance of time, and per-
ſons: the firſt belonging to their Princes, is ſomewhile
named ambition: the other appertaining to the meaner

Antonio di
Gueuara.

6 A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE

sort, they would should be called a militarie libertie: but we know it by no other name then pilfring and robbery.

Touching their couetousnesse, it partly appeareth in fraudulent shifting their creditors: partly by their rauinous desire to oppresse all parts, and partly by offending against the affections and dignitie of parents.

As concerning the cousinage of their creditors, our Princes haue deeplier tasted their deceit then any others.

Don Piero, being restored to his kingdome of *Castill* by the onely cheualrie and sole charges of the Duke of *Aquitaine* then Prince of Wales; entartayned his most noble patron and good benefactor only with promises, and after dispatched him into *France* with that payment: which being not currant amongst the *Gascon* and *English* soldiers, he was compelled to practise diuerse things contrarie to the custome of those partes, which bred manie nouelties to the losse of those prouinces.

The Duke of *Lancaster* pursuing in *Galitia* the title of his wife *Constance*, daughter to *Don Piero* and heire of *Castile*: sent the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* to *Piero* king of *Aragon*, for the arrerages of those summes hee was to pay *Edwvard* the third and his heires Dukes of *Aquitain*, for the yearely discharge of 500. horse: but hee had no other paiment (the alterations of this Realme not permitting to bring this king to reason) but the imprisonment of his Ambassador in *Barcelona*.

The Emperor *Charles* the 5. as king of *Spaine*, to draw *Henrie* the eight into a warre against *France*, who had paide him yearely from thence 133. thousand crownes for his sisters dower and pencion; made himselfe debtor to the king for that annual summe; couenanting moreouer that if hee married not in conuenient time, *Marie* then *Princes*,

Froissard.

Froissard.

John Sle. lib. 3.

OF THE SPANISH STATE.

7

Princes, of the age but of seuen yeares, to pay the king foure hundred thousand crownes, besides three hundred thousand crownes that were lent him: which billes for any thing I know lie in the deck, vnlesse Queene *Marie*, to please her husband, cancelled them.

How the French king *Charles the 8.* released the king *L'etat des maisons illustres de France.* of *Aragon* 50000. crownes, his father *Levvis* the 11. lent vpon the Counties of *Roussillon* and *Parpignan*, by meane of that couising frier, *Oliuer Maillard*, I let passe with these notes, that as it behoueth the kings of *France* to suspect the hypocrisy of friers in regard of the ambition *Diodorus Sicu. re anti. lib. 1. cap. 3.* of *Spaine* and *Lorrain*: so it standeth the king of *Spaine* in hand not to dye in *Egypt*, no man being buried there, by an ancient law of that region, (if his gouernement hath bin tyrannous) or his debts vnpayde.

To returne to the second part of their couetousnesse, ouerthrowing the foundation of Iustice: if this ground be true that nothing is profitable that is not honest, these men are too deuout seruitors of the Pope, he crying this Prince sweats, or fetch, to leape like water spaniels at the sacred dignities of kings, and to enter violently their Domaines established by his diuine order, who said by me *Proverb. 8.* kings do raigne.

I will iustifie it, that if the right of *Millaine* appertaine not to the kings of *France*, who claimed that Dutchie by *Valentina* grandmother to *Levvis* the twelfth, & daughter and heire to *John Galeazzo*, who had it of the gift of the Emperor *Sigismund*, that then it belongeth to the Empire. It is also certaine that the *Spanish* claime to the kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilia* (if the treatie at *Madrick* helpe not) is voidable: the same growing vpon the adoption of *Alphons* king of *Aragon*, by *John* the daughter of *Bernard de Girard.*

B iii

8 A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE

Lancelot the son of *Charles de la Paix*, an usurper of those realmes: which for good cause shee retracted in her life, & conuained her title to *Levvis* the third, sonne to *Levvis* the second, sonne to *Levvis* the first, being Duke of *Aniou*; and before adopted by *Ioan* the daughter of *Levvis* the sonne of *Robert*: all which were lawfully possessed of those Realmes. After which *Levvis* the third Duke of *Aniou*, hauing in him the right of the two Queenes, and dying without issue, left the to his brother *Rene*, who hauing no issue male, gaue his interest to his brother *Charles* who dying likewise without issue, left his title by testament to the french king *Levvis* the 11. in respect wherof *Charles* the 8. his sonne entred *Italie* & recouered *Naples*, where he was crowned. Morcouer the *Spaniard* neither as king of *Spaine* or Duke of *Burgundie* hath any right to *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Henault*, the same hauing bene the patrimonie of *Iaquet* daughter & heire to *Guilliam* Duke of *Bauiers* & wife to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, who died without issue; since which time *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* his cosen, & his heire (hauing their will for law) haue violently detained those prouinces. Furthermore, their title to *Maiorica*, *Minorica*, & to the higher *Nauar*, resteth vpon these doubts: first that if king *Philip* were takē in battel, or intrapped by other meanes, and imprisoned during his life, whether *Spaine* shuld be forfeit to him whose captiue he were. Secondly, if *Spaine* were prescribed by the holy father (who many times is implacable) whether that kingdome were his, who first laid hand thereon. I am perswaded they would reckon these questions absurd: but if the case bee altered with names, it is cocke on the hoope for them, & clearer then the midday. For the king of *Aragons* conquest of *Maiorica*, and *Minorica* was by no other meane

OF THE SPANISH STATE.

9

meane then by keeping the king of both in prison till his death: of which wrong the king his sonne complained to *Edward Duke of Aquitan*, who assured him, (his wars *Frossard* ended for *Don Piero of Castile*) he would yeeld him all fauor possible.

Their chualrie in theirthieuish surprising the higher *Nauarre* (which they hold by force of the Popes proscription) is of like condition: whereby it may appere that notwithstanding these *Caualeros* haue their Rapiers hanging point blancke, that it is their penurie at home, that giues them stomake, according to their name that they are *Sagaces Hispani*, to winde, or smell their neighbors cupbords abrode.

The late Prince of *Orange* hath declared their iniurie to *Don Anthonio* for *Portingall*, and God himselfe, (wherein we haue to boast and be thankfull) hath with hautie stile penned our *Apologie* for England: wherefore I omit both, to shewe the last branch of their couetousnesse, then which there is nothing that more toucheth their indignitie: for if it be proper to the Lion and Tiger to pursue with incredible furie, those that bereue them of their whelpes: what greater beastlines can there be in man who hath reason, & is not borne for himselfe, then contrarie to the naturall instinct of brute beastes, to make his issue captiue, whom nature made free? as the *Spaniards* by selling the *Indian* women conceiued with child by them, haue done to their great obloquie.

This kinde of auarice caused the *Indians* to practise new matter: but rather it may be the diuine punishment, considering the simplicitie of that people; who as they could opportunely take the *Spaniards*, powred melted gold into their mouthes, vsing *Thomyris* words to *Cyrus*

10 A BRIEFE DISCOVRSE
head in bloud, now drinke your fill

Froſſard.

To returne from whence I digressed, touching their qualities expressing the significations of *Spaine*. Next to their couetousnesſe their enuy is to be regarded, a vice proper to men of base account, and peculiar aboue all others to this nation: as well by testimonie of *Gaston* the Erle of *Foix* (a Prince of singular magnificence and valure) who (dehorting the Lords of *Biern* from ſetting the king of *Castill* against the *Portingall*) tould them the *Spaniards* were filthie, lowſie, and enuious of the proſperitie of ſtraungers: which at *Iuberoth* the French desiring to haue the vanward found true: the king of *Castill* not being able (in regard of their place) to bring his *Spaniards* though 20000. to make ſupply: by meane whereof, the Lords of *Biern* with their retinue, being 12000. were ſlaine. As also by the Duke of *Albas* reproouing Countie *Egmond*, (who with the aide of our artillery from ſea) ouerthrew the Frenchmen betweene *Grauelin* and *Dunkerke*: which victorie the *Spaniard* imputed onely to the Counties temerity, and for recompence of his valure, could not after afford him his life.

Hitherto haue I prooued the significations of *Spaine* as cauſes by their effects, or maximes by their conſequen-ces: now remaineth to ſpeake of *Tubal*, ſignifying, of the world, worldly, conuision, and ignomy.

Some may thinke that what hath bene ſaid for *Spaine* beſongeth alſo to *Tubal*; but I am of an other minde: for as it followeth not neceſſarily, that whosoeuer is rich, is therefore proud, high minded and iſolent, no more is it conſequēt, that the poore are worldly, conuife, and ignominious: many of both ſorts being ſuch whom God doth loue: in respect whereof, it behoueth me to handle this,

OF THE SPANISH STATE.

ii

this, as the other a part; to make apparent that they are no lesse confuse, and ignominious, than naturally poore and miserable.

As for these words, worldly, or of the world; although their grosse ignorance of diuine things may be prooued thereby, yet for that they belong to my Masters the Diuines, I let them passe.

First therefore as touching confusion, it is a peruerting or confounding the continuall and order of things Diuine, naturall, and ciuill; by meane whereof a detriment or deformitie of our persons, dignities, or states presently ensueth.

As concerning things Diuine, there is no nation that so confoundeth their vse, and seemeth religious not being so, as the *Spaniard* for an instant.

Ferdinando and *Isabella* after they had recovered *Granado* from the *Mores*, were presently intituled the most Christian Princes: which being stomached by *France*, they had after the name of Catholike, which did no lesse hurt then the title of vniuersall or supreme bishop: for hauing so glorious an addition annexed to their newe kingdome, they studied to do somewhat, sauoring also of noueltie, that might seeme worthie of the holy fathers fauour, and their *Epitheton*: in respect whereof they established a company of the order of *Dominicks*, to looke into the corrupt life & maners of the *Mores* and *Ievves* of *Spaine*, whom they named fathers of the holy Inquisition.

These Fathers as dropt from heauen, gaue great hope of their proceeding to all men; for in short space, all *Mahamatisme* and *Iudaisme*, seemed by their diligent search to be extirped in *Spaine*: neither was there any thing ex-

C

pected from them, but the effects of pietie, and propagation of Christianitie: their aduantage to this sentence, *The vworkman is vworthy his hier*, excepted; which greatly enriched their holy house with confiscate goods, but after their trade, in which they had found some sweetnes, began to decay at home; they thought good (as grayhounds missing wolues do fall to sheepe) to make it currant at *Naples*, which the Princes & people of that kingdome a while withstood: but being after terrified, partly with the Popes censures, partly with the power of the Emperor *Charles the 5.* they accepted it, *Sed inquis conditionibus.*

Hauing gotten free passage for this newe creature in *Italy*, they attempted to make it knowne to our worlde, where it bred such *Antiphisicall* effects, by tearing the vniion of *Belgia*, and renting our peace, that if cuer this saying were found true that *Religion brought forth riches, and the daughter devor vred the mother*, it was then when their auarice, cloaked with Christian reformation, filled all places with proscriptions, slaughter, and flame.

Moreouer, where the Greeke *Tau* (hauing some forme of a crosse) was amongst the *Egyptian Hierographicall* letters in great admiration, as containing diuine mysteries: and furthermore, where the Emperor *Constantine* had Enseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. Eccl. Hist. revealed vnto him that he should vanquish the tyrat *Maxentius* in the same signe: these minions notwithstanding they magnifie these presidents, naming all *Lutheranos*, and *Burrachios* that adore not the same: yet without any religious feare, (which no lewe would doe, esteeming swine vnclane) drue the Judge of *Tordissillas* out of a Church, and strangled him vpon a gallowes betweene two hogges, as Christ was crucified betweene two thecues,

theeues, wherein they blasphemed not the signe, but the thing signified.

This report *Antonio di Gueuarrā* (a man of more qualified condition than their countrie yeeldeth, made in his *Oration at Braxinia to the Knights of the assembly*.

He affirmed also in his *Epistle to the bishop of Zamora*, chieftaine of the rebels in *Spaine*, that one of his priests standing behind a window at *Tordissillas*, ouerthrew eleue of the Emperors souldiers with his *Hargabusse*: with which ech time before he slew one with the bullet, hee crost himselfe.

Let *Charles* the fist censure their Pageants with their holy father, and his venerable companie vnder *Bourbon*, at that time his son *Philip* was borne: he doubting whether he had more cause to glorie in the birth of his sonne, or to lament their contempt of the Pope, and holie places.

I denie not but some *Almaines* had their handes also in that matter, but the fault belonged to no other then the *Spaniards*: (who the Duke of *Bourbon* being slaine) commauded the armie, and were masters of the field.

In reproouing of their abuse, either of the Crosse or Pope, let no man take me that I esteeme them as things Diuine or holy: I speaking onely according to their opinion of both, which they reckon diuine and holy.

Nowe commeth in place the second part of confusion, which consisteth in violating that order which hath bin prescribed by nature, for preseruation of honestie, and the excellency of man.

This schoolemistris, was of her selfe daintie and most excellent, till the serpent deflowered her, and the *Spaniard* abused her fauour: notwithstanding which, she aloweth

not the desire of man to increase his like, in vnlawfull or vncomely sort: both which are against the dignitie and intention of Nature, whose obiect is honestie. Her lawes are, that we be followers of modesty, that a Parent should cherish his childe, a husband his wife, and all liuing creatures should liue pacified with them of their owne kinde. But to vse women forcibly in publike places, or in the presence of many, as some phrenticke persons accustome in *Fez*: or for Parents to kill their children, husbands their wiues, and one people many Nations, she detesteth, as customes vnsit for men, and not vsed (the first excepted) by fierce and vreasonable creatures.

I meane to cite but few examples, yet such as may no lesse expresse this confusion, then the print of *Hercules* foote his whole stature.

At their first arriuall in the West *Indes* (there accounting nothing vnlawfull) exercised all tyranny on that people, who hauing till then enjoyed a long libertie, esteemed the *Spaniards* more daungerous than wilde beasts: in respect whereof many flying their seruitude, cast themselves from rockes: other pined themselves with famine, and some cut their throates with sharpe stones: neither spared the *Indian* women that were with childe to take venimous potions, and to rippe their wombes to set free their infants from the cruell bondage of *Spaine*.

But this booted not, the *Spaniards* minding rather to reserue them to foule vses, and to aid them in their slauishers, then they should pine, or ende their liues by any other meane then their chualrie.

Hauing therefore recovered such as Fortune spared, they shamed not, driuing them as droues of beastes, to rauiish the women hauing children fastened to their necks, both

*Sansoninus
de Regnis.*

both their owne bands and the *Indians* beholding them.

But what durst not these rutters do amongst a naked, & simple people, that omitted no outrage in a country ha- uing lawes, walled townes, and armed men? for many thousand of like stiffe receiue this one for prooife of the rest.

At *Insul* a towne in *Flaunders*, three of these gallants entered a citizens house wholy of their faction; where two of them held the husband, whilst the third rauished his wife in his presence: who crying for helpe, & hauing two neighbours come to his rescue, the *Spaniardes* also cried *Spaine* (a watchword to assist their villanies) where- vpon diuerse of their company repaired to them, accusing the husband and his neighbors of riot, for which the one was adiudged to be whipt, and the other to be hanged.

Let this much suffice for that vice, wherein they contend only with vnreasonable creatures: somewhat being to be spoken also of their murther and cruelty, which be- longeth to this part of confusion, wherin they alone haue top and top gallant.

Solon hauing giuen lawes to the *Athenians*, was de- manded why he made not one for parricide: for that saith he, I thinke no man so beastly to commit it. The Philo- sopher thought nature to haue great authority in this matter; but seing that loue only descendeth, she coman- deth little.

That the child hath murthered the parent, moued by a couetous desire, either of patrimony or gouernement, is more apparent in the line of *Othomano* then piety would: but for the father to kill his innocent sonne, or the hus- band his chast wife, besides that family and the act of *He- rod*, I knowe no authentike prooife, vnlesse *Spaine* can

yeeld some president for both.

In the yeare 1568. the Duke of *Alba* descending with the *Terrezans* of *Milan* and *Naples* into the lower countries, vpon pretence of pacifying that state: and leauing no kind of tyranny vnexercised, gaue great mislike of his doings to all men: especially to the young Prince of *Spaine*, who often complained of his crueltie in those provinces: the gouernment of which belonged (as he saide no lesse to him in the life of his father, then it did to *Philip* (who had the same) in the time of *Charles* the fift.

This complaint though it seemed iust to some, yet others, chiefly the fathers of the Inquisition, reproued it as matter to be suspected, and sauoring more of noueltie then appertained to one of his yeares: by which slander they brought him into common hatred, specially of his father, who being wholly addicted to his secreat pleasures, easily beleueued any thing: in respect whereof, and that hee had made committies for hearing all matters of State: it was thought meete by them to restraine the Prince of libertie, as a man without other practise, knowing the greatnes of his mind, to shorten his time, althoough he died not without suspition of poyson.

The Queene of *Spaine* during his restraint (presuming much on her place, and pitying his innocencie and tender yeares) solicited the king to receiue him againe into fauour: but the mallice of the Princes aduersaries preuailed both towards him and the Queene, whom they found no lesse zealous for the peace of *Belgia*, then for the kings honour: for which cause they ordered that both their hearses were within one moneth, which I sawe at *Antwerp* lamented with teares, and at *Naples* solemnized with ioy: so great a matter it was for the prouinces to loose

loose good Princes, and for the *Spaniards* to be ridde of them, by whose pietie and wise prouidence their auarice and crueltie had beene bridled, and so small a thing it is in *Spaine*, for a father to murther his son, and a hus band his wife: the one being after the French phrase *Le petit fils* of two Emperors and the sonne of a king: the other the daughter of a king, the sister of kings, and wife of a king.

Some may obiect that these reports are scandalous, and belong rather to the Councell of *Spaine*, and fathers of the Inquisition, then to the king.

I confesse that besides publicke fame, which suffizeth to driue the accusant to his purgation; I can oppose but these grounds. First, that he who propelleth not an iniurie if he may, is no lesse faultie then he that offereth the wrong: secondly that those subiectes, whose Prince regardeth not by what meane his sonne and wife were oppressed, are not to hope the defence of his ciuill or martiall sword.

Now remaineth their confusion of things ciuill, which I ascribe not only to the subuersion of positiu lawes, priuiledges and customes; but to the ouerthrow also of that society, which ought to be betwene men of one nation, or seueral countreyes, for maintaining their particular quiet.

That they haue subuerted the ciuill state by altering of ancient ordinances, I hope they will not denie: which if they do, their policie in *Belgia* (framed by *Escon, do secre-
tarie to Don John of Austria*) (vz. that the king must cha-
stise one Prouince by an other to be made absolute in all) being compared with the priuiledges and customes of those Prouinces, graunted in the Bull of gold, and since confirmed by their Princes, will conuince them of great

impudencie. For if amongst other things contained in that Bull, the Princes of *Belgia* are prohibited to amplifie the Ecclesiastical state further then hath bene prescribed, or to leauie any mony, or to make any innouatiō in matter of state without consent of the Nobilitie and people: or to place forenners in the ciuill gouernment, vnlesse in some small offices, with this caution, that if they fall into any of these errors, their subiects (making due protestation) are absoluued from their obedience: what is it to enioyne diuerse townes of *Brabant* to receiue Bishops, the vnted Prouinces the *Spanish* Inquisition, & *Spanish* and *Italian* gouernours? and to impose this burthen, that besides the yearly tenth of mens goods, nothing is bought and sold to the vse of the bodie, out of which the kings officers trie not a part of siluer? What other thing I say is this alcumie, then the rooting vp of a State planted by the hands of good Princes, then which there is no iniustice more capitall?

To antiquate these things seemeth no other, then the cancelling of societie, but they are distinct, and but in part like: some obeying no ordinance, and yet hauing mutuall societie; which groweth by a secret agreement of nature making them conuersant.

By which I collect the confusion of societie amongst men liuing vnder one law, is their morositie onely.

This vice is rife amongst them, and wherein the *Spaniard* hath his difference from all men, aswell for offending therein their owne persons, as priuate persons the Soueraigne, and the Soueraigne the subiect: as also priuate persons one another: in all which they haue predominatiou, and if it were possible exceede them selues.

For sinning against their owne persons behold a rare example

example. *Don Piero of Castill* the sonne of *Alphonso the xi.* leading the vantgard of a battail against the *Mores of Granado*, and being aduertised that his vnkle *Don John*, who was in the arergard, was like to be distressed by a sudden eruption of *Mores*: and finding himselfe vnable to relieue his vnkle, his souldiers departing the field, was so surprised with beastlines, that he fel from his horse dead: which when *Don John* was certified, he died also. A matter saith the author, not before heard, that a man should die of displeasure: yet presidents no lesse rare in their sort do follow: but first of offences against the Soueraigne.

*Piero
Messe.*

A *Spaniard* beholding *Ferdinando* (grandfather to *Charles the fist*) in procession at *Barcelona*, that day they name *Corpus Christi* feast, strake him so furiously with a dagger on the necke, that he had slaine him if the greatnesse of his chaine had not put by the thrust: and that for no other cause, as he confessed being taken, but that the king stood not in his good grace, and that he liked not his countenance: an opinion no lesse daintie then that of the *Romane Senate*: for as they esteemed not on a God, who was not allowed by their authoritie, no more would this *yonker* that any should haue the name of king, that had not dignitie of person agreeable to his romth: which villainus temeritie hath giuen iust cause for Princes to withdraw their ordinarie presence from the common subiect; and to bring in this custome, that no man weareth a dagger in *Spaine*.

*Euseb. Ecccl.
hif.*

But nowe to their confounding of societie with the subiect: for the sequell, of singular president for all princes.

Ferdinando the fourth of *Castill*, for displeasure onely against two knights of good name, made their processe of execution; and though supplications were offered with

D

teares for pacifying that rigor, yet contrarie to the lyons nature (who sparcth the humble) he proceeded with all seueritie: in respect whereof the two knights appealed to the great iudge, before whō they summoned the king to be in person within twentie dayes; the last of which, *Ferdinando* appeared.

Time may rather want then iust matter to blasē their vices, which are not common, but rare and in the highest degree of beastliness: leauing therefore their murthering the Nobilitie of the sacred order of *Burgundi*, their cutting out, and searing with hot irons the tongues of honest Citizens, their drawing the mouthes of some asunder with other instrumentes, their wilfull murthering a father at *Traiect* beyond the *Mose*, for lodgēing his sonne one nigh; their banishing chast matrons, for receauing their husbands, an act condemned by no good law, for the inseperable bonds of their loue: their furious beastliness at *Tur-nace* vpon the citizens and a widow named *Potier* whom they slue with her daughter and neece; and their massacring with bullets the vnarmed people at *Ipre* beholding a godly minister put to death: I will touch onely their barbarous inhumanitie towards the naked *Indians*, a people very tractable, if they had found good maisters, and such as had skill of honestie.

Setting the acts of *Moses* and *Iosua* a part, I think there is no president that the godly haue rooted out the natural inhabitants of any countrey: but that the wicked haue chastized sinners, many passages, both of diuine and prophanē writings haue testified. It is then apparant that the *Spaniards* as idolaters were suffered to chastice idolaters, and not to enlarge the faith: for had their intention bene to haue learned those simple soules the true knowledge of God,

God, (as they made shewe at the first by erecting in some regions diuers Bishoprickes and schooles) they would either haue continued that order, or haue bin conuersant with them in all mildnesse and humanitie: pietie being no way better taught then by demonstration: but as they could seeme no others then they were: no more could the Indians gather grapes of thornes: in respect whereof though at the first this naked people might haue bene moulded into anie forme, yet after they had tasted the *Spanish Creados*, they abandoned their companie, with all rites and ceremonies of the Romish religion, which manie of them had reuerently before receiued: neither was there anie death so fearefull, whether by poyson, famine, or other meane before mentioned, that in respect of the cruelty of those *Don Diegos*, they would not haue willingly embraced as their sure port of rest & end of their euils.

In describing the miserable state of these wretched people, *Metellus* saith, that to a very ill president, manie of the *Spanish* souldiers punished their seruants most greeuously; if either they brought not home their day hier, or finished not their taske in the gould and siluer mines, or had committed smaler faults yealding them (their hands and feet being bound to a crosse pale) in steed of their supper, many stripes with corde, or the sinnewes of a *Buphal*, dropping on them either boyling pitch or oile: and after washing them with salt water they woulde lay them so long vpon a table, as they imagined those wretches might beare the paine: after this kind of cookerie, if a more cruell maister hapened to some of them, they were buried all night in earth to the necke, as a present remedie for their stripes. If any of them died in this newe diet (as it chaunced very often) the maister accompting to the King

D ij

the heds of his slaine seruants was quited of the paine of manslaughter. This crueltie some excuse saith *Metellus* by the law of *Baion*: But it appereth vpon iust cause wicked to all men, as being vo'd of all piety.

Touching this barbarous crueltie he bringeth in also one *Alquinotec* baptized *Cacicus* of the prouince of *Iucatana*, complaining to *Monteius* generall of that prouince in these or the like wordes.

Our natiō, *Monteius*,whilst I was a boy, was grieuously afflicted with a disease causing them to vomit wormes, whereof the greatest part died: after which (falling by degrees from on euill to another) we had wars with them of *Mexico*; wherin we lost mo then an hundred and fifty thousand; all which, in respect of the slaughter & crueltie that we receaue of thee, *Monteius*, & of thy souldiers, we esteeme nothing. *Metellus* further affirmeth, that the *Spaniards* hauing wasted many prouinces with their crueltie; and transporting by sea (from other places better peopled) sundry of those miserable & wretched *Indians* murthered many by pestering them in the bottomes of their ships: some by famine, & some by their daily stripes, so that few or not one of the landed, that were imbarked.

Hee moreouer specially noteth for the rest, one *Piero Calis*, who (in driving whole droues of that nakcd people) slue all that were not able to trauell, without regard of age, sexe, or their vse of labour, which in respect of a continuall easē, was most hard and intollerable to them.

He lastly concludeth with *Macchianel* (who maintaineth that where the Pope and Cardinals set footing, they leaue most fearefull printes of confusion) that in what place the *Spaniards* display their ensignes, nothing is to be looked for but crueltie and slaughter, and all miserie:

The

The prouince of *Cumanus*, of 700000. hauing scarce any remaining: *Hispaniola* of 2000000. hauing left but 200. or 150. and *Hondurensis* of 400000. but 8000. besides the slaughters of *Cuba*, *Jamica*, and *Portus diuitis*.

Thus farre Metellus, by which I collect, in respect of a *Sympathia* betweene the creatures of severall kinds, that the *Spaniards* are no lesse daungerous, in regarde of their crueltie, then the *Basilisc*; both hauing a desolate and wast Empire: as also that those *Indians* hauing behelde moc miseries then all the Nations of the earth, haue beene reserved for the handes of this cruell and proude Nation, whose condemnation may appeare iust, and most great.

I also note the sagacitie of this politike and wise people, that if they establish any law tending to reformation, they conuert it for the most part to their priuate commoditie: for as they dealt by the Inquisition, specially prouided for the *Moores* and *Ievves* of *Spaine*, so haue they done by the Law of *Baion* made by *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* for the *Canibals* onely: not one in these dayes feeling the smart of either, hath not more pietie, or is not more simple then others.

Omitting for that I would draw to an end, their cruelties which haue no ende: as their hunting the *Indians* Petrus Martyr de angleria. with dogs, and other like villanies, (hauing spoken before of men offending against their owne persons, the subiect the Magistrate, and the Superior the inferior.) The next is of confounding societie amongst priuate persons, of one Nation, for which I wil cite one example, as it was reported to me at *Venice* 1569. by a Gentleman of the house of *Mantua*, of great credite: His other additions I passe with silence, least he yet liue, and may thereby be in daunger of the bugges of *Millan* his neighbors.

The manner thereof was, as he said, in this sort. One of these monsters meeting his enimie unarmed, threatened to kill him if he denied not God, his power, and essentiall properties, v.z. his mercy, sufferance, &c. the which when the other desiring life, pronounced with great horror, kneeling vpon his knees: the *Brano* cried out, nowe will I kill thy bodie and soule, and at that instant thrust him through with his Rapier.

The last part of confusion is left to their confounding the societie of Nations, belonging also to ciuill societie, maintained by Ambassadors, intercourse of trafficke, iustice ministred strangers, open denouncing of warre, and mercie to the vanquished.

As for the first, though it hath beene in vse to beare with whatsoeuer an Ambassador (not exceeding his commission,) or an *Herault* (wearing the Cote-armor of his Prince) deliuered, (as the French king, *Charles the sixt*, suffered a proud defiance from the Duke of *Geldres*) yet haue the *Spaniards* (as men tied to no rule) not onely murthered Ambassadors passing their countrie (as *Alphonso d'Anal* their Lieutenant in *Lumbardy*, flue *Cesar Fregoso*, and *Antony Rinson*, sent from *France* towards *Constantinople*) but also haue killed some sent to themselves: as *Ferdinando of Aragon*, who vsurped *Naples*, murthered one *Segnior Iacobo* the Ambassador of *Francis Duke of Millan*, and imprisoned others, as the king of *Aragon* did the Archbishop of *Buxdeaux*, sent from the Duke of *Lancaster* before named.

Neither haue they beene lesse injurious to our merchants: they hauing arrested some, burnt others, and stayed the goods of many without restitution: vpon this pretence, they had in their ships or chambers, the Psalmes

*Iohan. Slai.
lib. 14.*

*Philip du
Comines.*

of

of *David*, or some treatise of Scripture in the vulgar: the same being either the *Erle of Surries* sonets, or some other like matter: but neither were our countrie men so happy to bee afflicted for righteousness, or the *Spaniards* so iust in censuring their lightnesse, which should haue bin reformed at home: for if the reading a *Sonet*, or the booke of *Amadis du Gaul*, which they haue increasid to a great volume bee death, which of them are free from iudgement? their chiefest Lectures consisting (vnlesse in the superstitious iudicials of Astronomie) in such light and vaine matter: *sed hinc ille lacrymae*, that they are of all men most contemptible, if they loose the counterfeit of holiness.

To seeme good and be so, is hard: but to be euill and seeme good is easie, and the onely thing that hath made them great.

To seize therefore on the foxes case, it was requisite to name him a horned beast entring the lyons denne: which rule maketh much for their oppression of all nations by stealth.

Neither is this name *Lutheran* vnprofitable for them, they meaning to ouerthrow thereby this position: *Contra hostes non est nisi legitimè dimicandum*, (which partly is by deuouring warre to them whom they inuade) and to draw vs either as heretickes, or traitors to their persons, into a degree higher then those that are tearmed *hostes*. But how that may be I see not, the one being in question, and the other vntrue: vnlesse the regard of neighborhood be an offence, which *Abraham* with the testimonie of a ^{Gen. cap. 14} good conscience vsed.

But grant we were worthily excluded the priuiledges of armes, for not being of that church (we thanke God)

*L'estat des
maisons il-
stres de
France.*

they are of. What moued them to pretend an indefesible peace (by meane of no lesse State than *Philip* the Archduke of *Austria*) with *Levvis* the twelfth, named for his piety the father of his countrie, and being as they terme their friends *buenos Catholicos*, they surprising at that time the kingdome of *Naples*? surely no other thing then which caused the Duke of *Parma* to entertaine her Maiesties Ambassadours with a long parle, till their great *Armado* was vpon our coast.

*Nic. Machi-
lib. 2. hist.* These things are inexcusable, and therefore I am of this minde, that if they had that bell named *Martinella*, which the ancient *Florentines* rong one moneth continually before they entered into any warre, they would say they could not make her sound for want of a rope.

Their want of compassion towards the vanquished, is of one scantling with their iniustice to straungers, to whom the lawe of Nations hath alwayes had speciall regard.

The lawes permit to take armes against enimies, but to spoile them who haue submitted their liues to vs, is ignoble, and farre from the generositie of our elders.

Some obiect for their cruelty, the slaughter of the French prisoners at *Iuberoth*, wherein (I shew my opinion) they had double wrong: first for that they were *Portingals* that did that deede, a Nation for this eight hundred yeares distinct frō *Spaine*: Secondly, if they had bin *Spaniards*, they had bin without blame, having to do with a new enimie that was fresh and thrise their number. I therefore omit this, and *Francis* the French king complaining in *Guicciardin* of his entertainment in *Spaine*: and wil for their acts done, put the reader in mind of their gratiouse behauour (before recited) towards the simple

Indians

Indians: and for their purpose to doe, shewe him the intention of the Marquise of *Guasto*.

It is in controuersie whether a Christian taking a Christian in battell may giue his armes: so is it determined, hee may not simply detaine his prisoner paying his ransome; much lesse oppresse him being yeelded: the Marquise notwithstanding these rules, encountering *Francis of Bourbon*, Earle of *Anguien* at *Sirrizzolles*, intended (had he gotten the victorie) to send all the frenchmen in ^{L'estat des} ^{maisons il-} ^{stres de} ^{France.} chaines to the gallies: a most cruell thought, considering the noblenes of the French Nation, and his owne profession of knighthood.

Thus much of their confounding things diuine, naturall, ciuill, and forren; the same appertaining to one of the significations of *Tubal*: now remaineth to say somewhat of the other and last signification, which is *Ignomy*; This may be named a reproch or blot belonging to the foulenesse of any act before done: a description not disagreeing with the French prouerbe, *Orgueil cheuauche devant, & honte vene apres*.

That Ignomy followeth our vices as shadowes our bodies, though it needeth no proofe, experience teaching no lesse, yet not to leau men to conjectures, behold a position made by *Philip de Comines* Lord of *Argentai*, whose singular honestie and valure sufficed to giue his sentences the authoritie of maximes.

Whosoeuer is a tyrant (saith he) is also a coward: for an instance of which, after he had cited sundrie cruelties of *Alphonso* the father, and *Ferdinando* the sonne (kings of *Aragon*, and usurpers of *Naples*,) he sheweth that upon the approch of the French king *Charles* the eight to *Naples*: they both departed the realme in such haste that

*Philip de
Comines.*

manie of their souldiers leapt out of the windowes hauing not seene the enemy : *Alphonso* beleevuing that all thinges tooke part against him in fauour of the French king: and that the moouing of the leaues of trees , sounded in the behalfe of *Charles* (as a watchword of partie) *France, France.*

Ferdinando his sonne (after *Charles* had taken his pleasure in the kingdome, and was departed towards *France*, leauing for his viceroy the Duke *Monpensier*) returned, and hauing alied himselfe with the *Venetians* and the Marquise of *Mantua* (who could not digest the greatnes and neighborhood of the French nation) he fell to ill arts, for recouerie of that kingdome he lost by cowardice. This disgrace he recompenced with a greater, tending to his perpetuall infamie.

For after the French had cleared all parts from appa-
rant hostilitie, they were notwithstanding conquered by
diseases, gotten by eating the flesh of dead me, which *Fer-
dinando* had procured to be sold them for *Tunny*: the vse
of which, corrupting the liuer by extreame moisture, and
matter of too neere qualitie; brought forth most foule
vlcers, with other paines, of which many miserably died:
leauing for *Trophees* of their victories, their countrie
name to the disease.

Lib.2. Hif. This is fearefully described by *Guicciardin*, (in respect the disease was infectiue, and then incurable) and as sin-
cerely laide downe by *Giouanni Fioreuanti* a Philosopher
of that time; who beholding the deformitie of that sick-
nesse, and hearing of their new diet, indeuoured to finde
the reason by the effects.

He kept (for that he would not be deceiued in the di-
uersitie of kinds) a tame Pie and a Dog so long without
meate,

meate, that the one refused not to eate the flesh of another Pie; and the Dogge to feed of an other Dog: by meane whereof the Pie within few dayes lost her fethers, and the Dog his haire, both hauing most filthy soares breaking forth in sundrie parts of their bodies.

The want of victuall being accessarie to this calamitic, draue the French to accept no lesse dishonorable condicions for their departure, than their disease was horrible; the most part of them dying in their returne.

Some reply, that if that contagion were as *Fioreuanti* conjectured, the *Canibals* would haue the like: which obiection proueth no lesse then is affirmed, no people being more subiect thereto then they that are within that tract: in which (as in the scorpion there is his sting to kill, and his oyle to cure) is found the wood *Guaicum*, a most present remedie for that disease.

This practise hath deeply touched the renoune of this Nation, which being in the highest degree of socery, hath for the ineuitable daunger, hapening by the abuse of things naturall, bene alwayes seuerely punished, both by diuine and humaine lawes; I am therefore perswaded that of all villanies it is the greatest, and most worthy of chastisement.

As for that which is named *Magia infamis*, or what else may be concluded by imprecation, or incantation; or any other thing meeting with the shrewdnesse of our nature, it is not to be esteemed: but this onely is to be feared, which being received for food entereth the vaines and entrals, either inflaming vnlawful lust, or abating the power of generation, to cut off discents, or presently killing, or breeding diseases worse then death; and more to be regarded at this instant, in which they striue who shal

be, and not who shall raigne, then in that age, in which neither their malice or power had taken so deepe roote as at this time.

To returne from whence I digressed: the Archbishop of *Treves*, withstanding the election of the emperor *Charls* the fist (whose greatnesse was extolled by *Maience*, in respect of his new kingdome of *Spaine*) affirmed that the *Spaniards* seldome afford them leskies in field without the aide of straungers: a report very sclauderous to chivalry, for which (though they be often well backt as they were at *Nauaret* by the Lords of *France*) they deserue no soldiers crowne or garland.

This cowardise at *Nauaret*, where they had 60000. of their owne people, was after obiected against them by *Monsieur du Lignac* in a consultatiō of warre amongst the French men that serued king *John of Castill* (sonne to *Henry* the bastard) against the Duke of *Lancaster*. It hath bin also remembred by *Froffard*, against whom & *Monsieur du Lignac*, they can take no exception.

He first citeth the wordes of one *Hartesel* an English man at *Inberoth* to the king of *Portingall*, whom he told that the *Spaniards* were flying calves without wings, bearing banners wauing with the winde: & lastly sheweth his owne opinion of them as followeth.

At the first encounter, saith *Froffard*, they are fierce, (& if they haue aduantage) high minded: they fight well on horseback; but as soone as they haue cast two or three darteres, and giuen a stroke with the sworde, and see that their enemies be not discomfited, they turne their horses and fly. This far *Froffard*, woh in other places doth altogether discommend their footmen, as such that are vtterly vnprofitable for batteil. The like report in a maner *Florus* maketh,

maketh, sauing that he speaketh somewhat more reuerently of the *Numatires, Portingals & Celtiberians*, frō whō *Florus lib. 2* *Marcus Porcius Cato*, and *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, *cap. 17. 18.* conquered seuen hundred of their walled townes in fewe yeares, as *Plutarche, Strabo* and *Polybius* witnesse.

The great antiquarie and historian *Antonio di Gueuarrā*, in his epistle to *Don Alphonso of Fonseca*, bishop of *Burgos*, affirmeth that the *Mores* in eight moneths conquered *Spaine* to the rocke *Horadada*, and that the *Spaniards* were eight hundred years before they recouered that losse: during which time, we must not thinke that the *Negros* sent for women out of *Aphrick*, or that the *Spaniards* were in those dayes very martiall.

By comparing these numbers, I find them no lesse vnable to defend, then to recouer a thing lost; so there be an election of seasons, and a prouision of other necessaries: which is to be regarded by our nation, as well for that we being brought vp in a more temperat and colder clime then *Spaine*, haue our naturall moisture casilie exhausted by the heat of that country opening our poers in the sommer: by which that quicke and subtil ayre named *Serena* entreth the vitall parts, and sleyeth the bodie: as also for that we being not accustomed to their strong wines, and hauing no other waters to mingle with them, then snow broth descending in the spring from the hilles into the riuers, fall into pestilent feauers, fluxes, and inflammations of all the inward parts: as moreouer, for that after May (about which time they haue their haruest) nothing remaineth out of their townes (vnlesse some fruites) to sustaine either man, or horse, their fields being extremely parcht with the Sunne till the returne of the Equinoctial.

Who therefore mindeth to inuade *Spaine*, hauing no

acquaintance with that ayre; it behoueth him to take the field in March, or at the least in Aprill: so councelled *John* the king of *Portingale* his father in law the Duke of *Lancaster*, who hauing in few weekes conquered *Galitia*, after contended only with the aire & scarsitic of the fields; the *Spaniards* hauing brought their corne, hay, and other prouisions into their walled townes; by meane whereof he lost twelue Barons, foure score knights, and two hundred Esquires, besides the common souldiers, and horse of seruice. Yet are not these discommodities ofaire or countrie, or losse of so many great personnages and resolute men, to deterre vs hereafter, we being not to measure at any time our attempts by the euents, but by what reason they were enterprized; which being of late to diuert a capitall and stubburne enemie, are (necessitie commanding) opportunely to be renued: nothing being impossible to a prudēt deliberation, accōpanied with true fortitude. Say then, noble countrimen, with resolute *Cato* speaking to his souldiers in the deserts of *Libya*,

Lucr.lib.9. *These are my mates in armes, vvhom dangers onely leade.*
But what heare I? Great is the *Hesperian* god *Plutus, Spain* not onely abounding with fruitfull fields and rich mines, but with such men as haue bene parentes of all good customes.

It suffiseth; but let this be tried by *Lazarillo di Tormes*, he being lesse partiall then *Hieronimo Ruscello, Rodirigo di Toledo, or Taraphe*, and by the trauellers in *Spaine*, who find nothing in their hosteries but a mat to lye vpon, and a candle to bring them to bed. It is no good consequent, there be birds, because there is a nest: or he is a gentleman, for that he neuer leaueth riding. But graunt the South of *Spaine* may be compared with the fruitfull parts of *Italie*, and

and that some of them were of like seede as *Pallas*: yet it maketh no more for the fertilitie of the rest, and good breeding of that people, then the teeth of an *Æthiopian* for the whitenesse of his bodie. Neither doth the varietie of their mines proue the fatnesse of the soyle, but the contrarie: for all mettals being engendred by influence of the Planets (of which they haue their properties) and apt temperature of the earth inclined to the disposition of those Planets, of which she is impressed, do shew the nature of their cause by their effects, which being in the third and fourth degree of drought, proueth their ground more barren (vnlesse in some part) then any region about them. Moreouer their mines (which by men skilfull in minerals) are likened to trees hauing rootes, trunkes, boughes, branches, blossomes, or floures) they haue bene wasted by sundry nations in all ages: as the mines of seacole and kannel, which haue their bounds, &c are subiect to an end.

First the *Phœnicians* had (for things of small price) great store of their metall, by the helpe whereof, they erected diuerte colonies in *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Spaine* it selfe.

Secondly the *Carthaginians* did trafficke their brasfe with the *Tyrians*, &c inlarged thereby, & their commodities in other metall, their Empire against the *Libyans*, *Sicilians*, and *Romaines*.

Lastly the *Romaines* mined many furlongs with great vaults in sundrie parts of *Spaine*, an argument of scarsitie in their time, and that the birds were then flowen: which is now a cause also the king of *Spaine* preuaileth little for the lower countries: treasure, as some hold, being the sinewes of warre.

As for this opinion that other nations should take light

*Girolomo
Rifcelli.*

*Diodorus
Sicu lib. 6.
rerum anti.
cap. 9.*

frō their courtly port & martiall behauour, it is vaine, & argueth a yarely pention: *Antonio di Gueuarrā* affirming that to giue perfection to the *Spaniards* it behoueth to draw him that is bred in the mountaines, to be trained in *Castill*: which I gesse is for no other cause then that the *Montanese* is by nature rough, and the *Castillian* cfeminat: but what state this man will beare, let them report who haue either seene beggers set on horsebacke; or haue beheld a mans head placed on a horses necke, &c.

This my self can say, that I haue knowē fifteene hūdred *Biscaynes* (which people *Florus* nameth the chivalrie of *Spaine*) at their first landing in *Antuvarpe* to be men contemptible of person, filthy in apparell, and rude in behauour; and within one moneth after they had tasted the pay of that towne, and relished the cates of that contrey, to be terrible of countenance, magnificall in gesture, and seeming of so hautie conceit; as though all things were vile which they esteemed not: and therefore dare auowe that who so was entertained with their customes, prospered as a tree embrased with iuie.

Appianus
Alexandri-
nus libr.
Lybico.

This barbarous naturall of the *Spaniard*, was better knownen to *Hanibal*, then to men of our time; for he after his discomfiture at *Cilla*, hauing some Spanish horsemen remaining; and fearing in respect of their vertuous training, their readines to chaffer the state of their freinds, fled with on horseman in two dayes & two nights to *Adrumetum* distant frō the battail three thousand furlongs, which commeth to three hundred seuentie ffe of our miles: an argument he loued and trusted them well from whom he fled in such hast.

It is a ground that a compound is lesse perfit, & more daungerous for nature then a simple, if therefore those *Spaniards*

Spaniards which descended only of *Tubal*, haue, in respect of their parent or soile, but the image of perfect men: what shall we thinke of the *Spaniards* of these dayes, which are confectioned of the pilferers of the wold? truely that there is no vice in which they haue not a surplussage aboue anie other nation of the earth: I meane the South of *Spain* (now containing *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Castilia nūua*, *Valenza*, *Granado* and *Andaluzia*) to which only the *Romans* before *Polybius* time gaue the name of *Spaine*.

As for *Galitia* and *Portingale*, the one taking name of those French men that in the time of *Charles the great* entered *Spaine* against the *Mores*, & the other of those French and Normans that in the yeare 700. past against the *Saracins*; as also the *Biscais* descended of those *Gauls* which were called *Celtae*, and of those *Spaniards* named *Iberi*, as *Diodorus* in his sixt booke of antiquities, and *Lucan* in his fourth hooke make mention: I number them a part, as being ech way more honorable then the rest.

But to returne to the South of *Spaine*, (the rest not being knownen to the learned antiquitie) the *Goths* and *Alani* (being of those *Scythians* that dwelt neere the riuier *Danubius*, who in the time of *Honorius* came vnder the leading of *Gensericus* into *Spaine*) inhabited that part, which is now called *Catalonia*, a word compounded of both their names; and was at the first named *Gottalania*.

Girolomo Ruscelli in la Geo. di Ptol.

Of these *Scythes* who haue their name as *vacantes scyphis* are descended those that inhabit *Castilia nūua*, and *Arragon* named at the first *Terraconia*. Next to these is the prouince of *Valenza*, so called by the *Mores*, who about nine hundred yeares past tooke footing in that kingdome, and since overflowed *Spaine*. About eight hundred years past another company of *Mores* possessed that part which

The next are the *Vandals*, a people of the North, calling that part, after their name *Vandaluzia*, which by loosing the first letter and corruption of speach is called *Andaluzia*, as *Arrocona* hath *T*, being before *Terracona*. But here I must not forget a report of their own touching the etimologie of *Andaluzia*: which is, that the *Mores* landing in *Spaine*, demanded a pesant driuing an asse, the name of that prouince: but he vnderstanding them not, spake to his asse, *Anda luzia*, which is, *go luzia*: according to which the *Mores* named that country: but to returne. Of these is a like *quintessence* drawne as *Alexander* drank out of the hoofe of an horse: for what vice soeuer hath bin peculiar to any of them (besides those they had in *cōmon*), is now proper to them all.

As I sayd before that a simple is more perfect then a compound: so affirme I, that those beasts which are engendred of sundrie kinds, are most cruell. If a lion match with a Parde, there remaineth in the issue some generositié of the parent: but if the Leopard couple him self with a Tiger, nothing is to be looked for in their broode, but a barbarous fiercenesse. The naturall *Spaniard*, being as a simple, is of a confuse and beastly concept, of diet miserable and furious, nourished to increase those humours in scarsitie: but mixed with the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, giuen to theeuery and drunkennes: mingled with the *Mores* cruell and full of trecherie: and consequently, tasting of euerie one, a spting of all filthinesse.

The *Italian* hath this prouerbe, that a thing begun is halfe ended: and experience teacheth, that after the sunne hath climed the Meridian, he declineth. All things haue their infancie, riper yeares, decrepit age, and are subiect to alteration,

alteration; yet passe not with like celeritie to their period. The *Spaniards* began to be of some reputation but in the time of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, (who vntied *Aragon* and *Castilia*) before which they were either subiect to the *Carthaginians*, *Romans* or some other nation: or els so deuided into small kingdomes, that they were of no force.

It is therefore no maruell that *Antonio di Gueuara* in regard of their weaknes, and want of valiant personages, cited, (in his epistle to *Don Ian di Padillia* a Captaine of the rebels in *Spain*) one *Cid, Fernan Gonsalis* & the knight *Tiran*: and in his epistle to *Sir Antoni of Cuniga* (prior of *S. John*) named *Viriato a Spaniard*; he being a naturall *Portingall*, whom the *Spaniard* aboue all men hateth, as *Comines* maintaineth, vnlesse it be to rob him of his ^{Philip de} *Comines*. honor and dignitie.

In the time then of *Ferdinando*, after the rapine of the kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicilia* and *Navarre*; were they first esteemed: neither would their fortunes haue had longer life then his age, had they not ben after houed vnder the wings of the eagle (during which time they increased their empire with *Milan*) and caught some heat of the *Lion*. In their prosperity they are of the nature of gourds which ouerlooke those things by which they clime. England hath yelded them the greatest countenance (besides their comoditic of sheepe, the King hauing for the duties of wool 30 *quentos*) & the lower contries the greatest reuenues, and these two are they at which they haue first leuelled.

They esteme the kingdoms of *Castill* and *Aragon* to be the cheifest of their *Diadem*, yet do the commodities of *Belgia* contrepois more then the weight of both: the due of the prouinces being seuen hundred *quentos*, the king-

dom of *Castill* but fourte hundred and fifty: and of *Aragon* & *Catalonia* but one hundred and fifty: wherby it should seeme that before they had rauened *Majorques*, *Nauar*, *Milan*, *Sicilia* and *Naples*, that their proper right (notwithstanding their mine of *Guadalcanal*) was of no great accompt; the kingdom of *Naples* yelding three hundred and fifty *quentos*, and the state of *Milan* three hundred *quentos*, (or after the opinion of *Philip de Comines* six hundred and fifty thousand Duckets) which cometh neere to one reckning (exceeding the rest of their auncient Domains of *Spaine*).

Sleidan.lib.
19.

*L'estat des
maisons il-
lustres de
France.*

I speake nothing of the States of *Parma* and *Florence*, for that since their match with the house of *Austria*, they yealded the *Spaniards* but the lone of some citadells. Yet was the surprising of *Piazenza* by the Emperors lieutenāt of *Lühardy*; treacherous & cruel, & the Emperors answer framed by a Spanish frier *Jacobin* his confessor, to the Bishop of *Phano* (the Popes *nuncio*) who solicited the restitution thereof, no lesse cautelous and dishonorable, vz. that in a doubtfull or obscure title, the condition of the possessor is to be preferred before the other. Lo here diuinity fit for *Spaine*, and martial pollicie of *Ferdinando Gonzaga*. But most infamous was their attempt towardes their general lieutenāt of *Belgia*, who had deserued better of their nation, which hath bene often fatall to his house: but so vse they to make happy their frends. It should seeme the king of *Spaine* exceedeth in greatness and reuenues, the mightiest kings in *Europe*; but remember with all that vertue united is stronger, and being dispearsed, weaker; and that also many things fall betwene the vpper lippe and the cuppe.

That garment therefore (in my conceit) is most comely

ly that is of one cloth, and most strong that is least peeced. How then their robe will hang together, I may gesse, & what the euent of all will be, the wiser may foresee.

I alledged that as all things had their risings, so had they also their fall, though not after one motion

I gather therby and the former circumstances, that the empire of *Spaine* declineth: but my chiefest ground is; that nothing which is vehement is durable.

To deuine of those things which are in the secret purpose of God, is impietie: but to vse conjectures against conjectures, answereth the iniustice of their ambition: no man taking hurt but by meane of him selfe.

I could vse an incident for this, which though it may seeme of small weight, yet may it haue his misterie with his act, who being of base condition placed himself (without any perturbation of minde) in the royall seat of *Alexander*, which the *Caldeans* prognosticated to portend the death of *Alexander*.

Diodorus Sic. Biblioth. lib. 17.

The actors were, that *Bergamasco* (for his phantaſtick humors) named *Monarcho*, and two of the Spanish embassadors retinue, who being about foure and twentie yeares past in Paules church in London, contended who was soueraigne of the world: the *Monarcho* maintained him self to be he, and named their king to be but his vice-roy for *Spain*: the other two with great fury denying it. At which my self, and soine of good account now dead, wondred in respect of the ſubiect they handled, and that want of iudgment we looked not for in the *Spaniards*. Yet this moreouer we noted, that notwithstanding the weight of their controuersie; they kept in their walke the Spanish turne: which is, that he which goeth at the right hand shall at euery end of the walke turne in the midſt,

the which place the *Monarcho* was loth to yeald (but as they compelled him, though they gaue him sometimes that romthe) in respect of his supposed Maiestie; but I would this were the worst of their ceremonies; the same keeping some *decorum* concerning equalitie.

As I haue (for some proportion betwene the two princes *Alexander* and *Philip*) compared him who sate vnder the cloth of state of *Alexander* with the *Monarcho*, so would I for conclusion expresse my conceit in a matter of great appearance, and nearer similitude.

Cesar Borgia the sonne of *Roderigo a Spaniard*, who named himselfe after he came to the Papacie *Alexander VI.* (which some reade *Alexander ui*) to that ende as *Sabellicus* noteth, they hauing the naines of those two that were the greatest emperours, might make the world tremble before them: after he had renounced his fathers bishoprick of *Valentia in Spaine* (of which he was named Cardinal) and to attaine by degrees the Maiesty of *Cesar*, was created Duke of that place, gaue for his poesie, *Aut Cesar, aut nihil*. which being not fauoured from the heauens, had presently the euent the same predicted.

Philip of Macedonia at a banquet he made the embassadours of *Greece* (the day before he was slaine by *Pausanias*) inioyned one *Neoptolemus* (a tragedian of great name) to recite some pocme before composed that might prognosticat the good successe of his iourney against the *Persians*. *Neoptolemus* supposing he had apt matter to extoll his enterprise and greatnes of the *Persian* empier, which was then like to fall, began in this sort.

*For you (vvhich rashly hold,
The giuen course of life,
And carefully aspire*

Diodorus
Sic. Biblio-
the lib. 16.

Tinuade

*Tinuade Olimphus top:
The champion fieldes, and courtes
Vvhich lift their turrets high)
The time now v mous regard,
For lo a vray not knowven
He goeth, now v thrid of hope,
Though long he cuts in tuvo.
And vtmost day of death,
vnbid, presents it selfe.*

How this may be applyed to their late enterprise by sea; their penons, banners, stremers and enseignes hauing sundry figures portending a doubtfull event: I leauet to their iudgments who haue seene both them and their successes as also the poesie of *Borgia*, for a neare resemblance of their deuice (at *S. Domingo*) to the censure of the great iudge. There is no oracle, beside the diuine, more certaine for signifying our estate, or which more bindeth vs to the condition of the thing signified, then that which is pronounced either by our selues, or our meanes: of both which there is no difference. Of this are infinit examples besides those before cited, which for breuity I omit. From these particles I framed this ground, that what soever is doubtfully laid downe (being not founded vpon the base of iustice) is infirme and of small life. In respect whereof, I iudge we may lawfully affirme by application from the former examples; that the name of the first inhabitat of *Spaine* and that countrey, fatally signifying confusion and penury: the auarice of that people, being, by meane thereof, made insatiable; their policie to inlarge their empire cruel, their later procedings & resolutions terrible; & their embleme of a horse (alluding to the name of their king and his ambition) standing on his hinder legges

vpon the globe of the whole earth, his former partes aduanced as though he would leape from thence, with this written scroll in his mouth, *Non sufficit orbis,*) proude & not contained in order: expresseth, according to the particular circumstances & blason, that God (hauing restored euery bird her fether) hath left for this proud & stubburne nation, the reward of his wrath, and iust effectes of the signification of *Spaine* and *Tubal*: howsoeuer he hath of late delt with vs for our vnthankfulnes, he before powring vpon vs with ful measure, so rare blessings as no nation receaued like, his peculiar people excepted.

So that we may iustly boast with *Cesar*,

*Ante victum hostem esse
quam visum.*

A D I A.



43

A DIALOGUE INTITLED PHILOBASILIS.

Philobasilis, Philopolis.

 *Natharsis a Scythian*, desiring to be numbred at *Athens* amongst the friends of *Solon*, was answered, that he was to procure him selfe friendship in his owne country: which rule, vertue being the lodestone, or polestarre of perfect loue, we find of no weight: for as wines made of good grapes are more holsome being drawne from their lies: so those which for a good cause depart their countray, are as men of singular and divine qualitie to be embraced of all sorts.

I feare not *Theophilus* to affirme this much by my experience of *Philopolis*, who hauing bene with the king in that battel, where Duke *Joieux* was slaine: and after min ding to returne to his house in *Paris*, scaped from thence with great ieoperdie of himselfe to this citie; with whom since that time, for his rare parts which draw to him the fauour of all men, (he being both of counsell and fact,) I haue bene still conuersant.

With this our *Philopolis*, I would *Theophilus* you were acquainted, for that I thinke him worthie your friendship and fauour of good men: in respect whereof, I haue commended to you the speeches of our first conference, though not so well pend, as spoken by him.

After therefore he had inquired the forme of our go-

G

uernement, which in respect of our factions, he thought miraculously preserued by God: I answered, true *Philopolis*, the same is neither casuall, or framed by man, but ordained of God, according to the prediction of *Sibylla Phrygia*, who aboue two thousand yeares past left these verses in letters of gold.

*In fruitfull Ile beyond the Gauls shall rule,
More chaster one, than euer Dian savv:
The Muses shall depart Parnassus hill,
To haunt her Court, vvhile all the Graces flowv.
Dame Pallas shall giue place, and Juno blush,
To see that time in vvhich their vertues dimme,
By beame of brighter starre than earth did knowv:
vvhose cheerefull gleames shall glad the exiles vvoe.*

And somewhat after:

*She shall vwith vs adore a virgines sonne,
And he her sacred head shall crowne vwith Bayes:
She shall not bovv, O Thetus to thy doome,
Or yeeld in light to Phœbus clearest rayes:
Thrife happie he, O Queene, that shall behold,
Thy parts more rare then due to mortall vright.*

By which notwithstanding your Nation noteth our people ceremoniously giuen to matter of prophesie, I collect the iustice of the present policie; which receiueth not only strangers being good men, but some of our owne people for Citizens, who would not if they might be subjects.

Philopo. All Oracles not being diuine are doubtfull: but the euent of this hath raised the holy *Sibylle* frō death, who many wayes foreshewed the deepe mysteries of our religion, for which our aduersaries by sleight oppresse vs and our Princes, according to the Poet.

He

*Heterror bred vwith fained crimes, hence doubtfull voice
He spred in peoples eares, and guiltie sought for armes.*

This haue we with teares proued and seene thereof, their bloudie *Tropheas*, who leading vs as a *Buphal* by the nose, seeke our health as he that sought his wife against the streme: yet in these calamities we enuie not, but reuerence your godly and flourishing peace, which is great knew you the vse thereof: and most rare, prouided you she were not deuoured of easse.

Philoba. This happines is not continued by our policy, but according to the eternall prouidence of the soueraine law-giuier: neither can the same be altered by any constellation, fatall computation of yeares, or mighty preparation of our enimies: but by the Angell of the great Councell, who moderateth not either after the will or manner of men, howsoeuer they dreame of times, or nations: as your *Heraults* haue done of the forme of your Armories, which resembling threec swords, signifie say they, perfecution to your kings, princes, & people: which coniecture with many like I condemne, as being ill rules for the multitude, who are easily deluded by phanaticall men, who hunt onely for ostentation, though it be to the daunger of themselues and their countrie.

Philopo. Our *Heraults* perhaps deale herein like some Phisitions, who discerning not their patients infirmitie, attribute it either to witchcraft, or their last diett: but we who can best yeeld the reason of our disease, say sin to be the cause, and the *Epilepsi* of our late king in discipline the signes thereof, who hauing taken no other Phisicke then the flatterie of diuerse great Lords, and officers of the crowne, felt not in that resolution, the heauy hand of his mothers gouernement, contrarie to the custome of our

Nation and *Salick* Law, then which we for antiquitie, and our common quiet, iudge not any more excellent.

Philoba. Pardon me though I esteeme that law without praise of either.

Philopo. Though it standeth not with the humours of your Nation, yet ours reuerently receiueth the same as an honorable testimony of *Pharamund*s prudence, who for our stronger vnion ordained that Law: that we, by meane thereof, beholding in the families of our Princes which we call of the blood, the race of our kings, might be void of those factions, with which your Nation and others either haue, or may hereafter take hurt.

Philoba. You lead me as *Sibylla Cumana* did *Eneas* to view a phantasticke apparition of men: or as *Syrus* taught old *Demea* the way to his brother.

Philopo. Not so but as the great artifcer shewed the *Affyrian* his counterfeit of the foure Monarchies: or as our first parent learned, that his cohelper was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones: the vnion not being vnlike betweene the Prince and people, they differing neither in religion, law, custome, or language: all which are neuer consequent, if women attaining the royll seate yeeld the same to straungers: for though the goodnes of Nature be not extinguished in them by those matches, yet are they not (their superioritie being restrained) masters of their owne affections: neither will their husband so naturally regard their new subiects as were requisite, as well for that in seeking to place their men of court in the highest roomes, they expell the naturall subiect: which alteration neuer happeneth without great daunger to the state, as also for that they whom they prefer of their owne traine being ignorant of the lawes, language, and rites of the people,

people, are in respect thereof, either remisse in the execution of iustice, or so inclined to their owne profite, that the common weale taketh no lesse hurt thereby, then if it were wasted with sundrie enimies: those states which haue fallen into the *Spaniards* hands by the like meane (which are all they haue in *Europe* some part of *Spaine* and the higher *Navarre* excepted) being seruile presidents of this argument: especially *Naples*, *Millain*, & the lower *Germanie*: where the meanest companion being a stranger, liued with greater libertie than thenobilitie, being natuies of the Country.

Philoba. It is cleare that the gouernement of those places (if it be not reformed) answereth not the dignitie offree men: but such is the policie of *Spaine*, rather to be feared then loued: which *Paradox* hath hitherto made good their affaires in *Italy*, as the continuall aid the Duke of *Florence* yeeldeth the king, and the faithfull seruice of the Duke of *Parma* to him hath made apparent: notwithstanding that in the States of both, though the one were his alie, and the other his coulson germaine, he hath intruded seuerall garisons of *Spaniards*, thereby to keepe both the Princes at his deuotion: in what sort therefore he either hath or will vse straungers, that so neerely regardeth the Princes of his house, may be greatly doubted. But to returne to your *Salick Law*, which profiteth so little in commō opinion, that many of your owne people feare not to publish the vaine title of a *Lorainer* to that Crowne, he being neither Frenchman, Pair of *France*, or Prince of the bloud, but one, who for effecting his purpose, would bring in a proud nation to supply the *French* nobilitie: which act contrarying the diuine law that *Deut.17.* commandeth you to choose no straunger to your king,

Num. 27.

what is to be said thereof and of your *Salick* lawe, seeing to conspire against the holy ordinance, that iudgeth daughters for want of sonnes (and not strangers) capable of gouernement: but that the one by the effects is full of impietie, and the other not onely vnprofitable, but also most daungerous by those warres it draweth on your countrie.

Philopo. As we may graunt you the first part, so denie we the second, though the ouerthrowes giuen to *Philip* and *John de Valois*, are made equall with any that hapned betweene the ancient *Gauls* and *Romaines*: since which great slaughters, that law being the sealed with the bloud of many valiant persons, hath so freed vs from all alterati-
ons of succession, that few nations can therein compare their happinesse with ours: the same answering the holy decree you named, which forbiddeth the election offorre
Princes, most like by a secreat consent to ensue, if daughters succeeded. But what letteth the later law, being of more Maiestic, should not in a cause of kings cancell the first specially ordained for priuate persons? and withall the inordinate passions of women, who being lesse qua-
lified than men, are therefore more vnapt to rule.

Philoba. To graunt their defection maketh not against my purpose: the like happening also to men.

Philopo. I would their vertues were equall, and you not lead with a partialitie of humors.

Philoba. I am not, but with the matches of your se-
cond *Henrie* with the house *de Medicis*, and of your
third *Henry* with the Lords of *Guise*: after the fancie of
which families, your affaires haue since then bene gouer-
ned, and *France* by meane thereof either named *Itagallia*,
or *la France perdue*, euен to the losse of him, who fearing
a long

along time to displease those Lords, gaue them oportunitie to offend himselfe. To impugne therefore the succession of daughters, and to allow your kings marrying such by whose authoritie all things are administred, it being not material by what sexe foriners should tyrānize, is a matter of no weight: the retinue of your kings wiues ouerflowing all places of Iustice, being no leſſe daungerous to your peace, than the punicke faſth to the auncient Romaines. And likewise, that if *Prudence* and *Fortitude* be peculiar to men, that *Justice* and *Temperance* are as proper to women: for which we neede no other presidents than our soueraigne Ladie, whose diuine graces are as the ſunne beames, ſpred into all parts of the world: as *Scotland* in the minoritie of her king and manie other Nations can witnesſe, if ſhe and they be not vntankefull for that benefit.

Philopo. I gladly allow your opinion of this one, and of ſome other of that kinde of moſt excellent qualitie: all which notwithstanding are no ſwallowes to make our ſummer: you know what the learned antiquitie both diuine and prophane haue thought of the weakeſſe of this ſexe, whose gouernement elsewhere I reuerence, as the ordinance of God, and agreeing with the lawes of other Nations? Yeelding therefore all due honor to your ſtar of peace, which I pray may long ſhine in the Church of God: I will (leauing that *Bruenhault*, who according to her Nation, was moſt daungerous for our Countrie) name but one of the house *de Medicis*: who after the comicall Poet, was the calamitie of our land. This Ladie hauing (by the death of her husband and diuerſe Lords) oportunitie to looke into the gouernment of her children: not onely abuſed (for deſire of rule, of

of which she was impatent) their young yeares, but also the authoritie of the Princes of the blood, to whom during the minority of the king the same belonged: causynge moreouer her sonnes (for seruynge her ambition) to play all parts of a dreadfull tragedy, in which she was a feuer actor till her last breath: hauynge vnto that time hid many daungers from the king which might greatly haue profited him and the realme, had they bene reueiled in season, which she concealed for her owne profite: not one being more able to dissemble then she, who had by that meane deceiued many great Princes and Captaines of her time, especially the Admirall *Chastilion*, who affirmed in all speeches of her, that he greatly doubted her vnstable wit. And though that wind be ill that turneth none to good, yet her arts greatly auailed *Spaine*; which she euermore regarded for preferring her particular (notwithstanding the losse of her daughter) before the nobilitie and common profite of *France*, entertaining in respect thereof diuersc (vpon other mens cost) with the hope of many excellent titles and great *Signories*; the desire of which are not yet forgotten, nor will be, till God moderate our troubles, and take compassion of our poore afflieted *France*.

Philoba. Feare not *Philopolis* for if there were euer time to pacifie the broiles of your countrie it is in the raigne of the fourth *Henry*, your third *Henry* hauynge bin vnmeet to repaire the house of God being imbrued with the bloud of his Saincts.

Philopo I haue thought as much, and therefore haue alwaies relied my self vpon the good prouidence of God, which never faileth his people. But at this one thing I tremble to behold the diuinie iudgment in the Duke of

Guise

Guise and late king, who being companions at the great murther at *Paris* ended their liues, in a sort, the one by the others sword. Of this our *Bardi* of one authoritie with the ancient *Gauls*, as the *Sibylle* with the reuerent antiquitie haue long since giuen some testimonie in these rithmes.

*VVhen men that sprong of serpents teeth are slaine,
Then leave, O Gauls, to mourne: for sound of Trumpe
Shall cease, vvith ciuill hate, and dolefull warre.
His foes shall give him place, and yeeld their roomes,
The most of them by stroke of others sword.
He holy league shall haue vvith neighbour Ile,
VWhere crownd maid shall daily pay her vovves,
Vnto th'eternall God, her God of old.
For this Apollo tune thy golden harpe,
And sound vvith siluer quill their high renouyne;
You Muses still assist this goddesse praise,
And Fauns that haunt the vwoods, vvith vwater Nymphs
That often tread on pleasant greene the rounds,
In rounds still sing long may that Ladieline,
And double do thou bashfull Ecchocrie,*

Liue, Liue.

Philoba. I dayly pray no lesse, and should be also of that conceit for the peace of your *France*, & our realme: if Egles disclosed doues: but you know that factions are the porters of warre: of this your kings are not ignorant, whose sufferance encreased their number, who would wreath their chaplets with your *Fluerdelices*, and twist their Garlands with our *Roses*.

Philop. Nothing is more probable than which you lastly alledged: as their execrable practise touching the death of the godly and valiant Prince of *Conde*, hath to

to the vniuersall hurt of the Church sorrowfully confirmed, and the slaughter of the late king to an ill president for all Princes that acknowledge not their indignitie of place, made apparent to all men: yet is there not anie thing lesse to be feared then the effecting of their ambition: for he who planted those flowers, which for beautie and smell are excellent, will also keepe them to their vse, who are the true owners of both.

Philob. Those speaches ended, I tooke occasion (feareing to abuse his time, which he being alone bestoweth most religiously) to depart: minding as I haue giuen you some feele by this conference (intermedded with diuers matter) of his good meaning to the Christian publicke weale, to acquaint you, *Theopilus*, with himselfe: who (as the lightning cannot be counterfaited, or glimmering of swords shadowed,) is neuer well perceiued but by the weight of his owne words.

FINIS.

C 6291
60942 SL

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION